the WOMAN VOTER

THE STATE CONVENTION

TWO WINGS OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

WHO ARE THE ANTIS?

NOVEMBER, 1916

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

NOVEMBER, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

Opening the Campaign

THE 48th Annual Convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party will open under circumstances which have never before attended a suffrage gathering. Elections will be over, and checking up the results will enter into the plans formulated for the suffrage campaign of 1917. Both the great national parties have committed themselves to the extension of suffrage by state action; and both the major parties in New York have committed themselves to the resubmission of the suffrage question to the voters in the coming year.

Naturally we shall scan most carefully the election returns in both national and state elections. Our interest in the former lies particularly with the men who will constitute the Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States.

Whichever way the election turns in the state, we shall have a Governor who not only believes in suffrage but has voted for it. Whatever the political complexion of the Legislature, we are sure of the passage of the suffrage amendment for that has been pledged in both platforms. But we want more than a perfunctory fulfillment of an obligation, we hope to be in the hands of our friends so that every vote will carry with it helpful good wishes to be realized at the polls.

THE plans of campaign will be the great work of the Convention. They must necessarily be far reaching and as carefully considered as those drawn by a general to conquer a great obstacle standing in the way of complete victory.

New York presents a strategic position in the suffrage movement. If taken it will free politically one-tenth of the women of the nation, it will add 45 electoral votes to the 91 of the equal suffrage states. More than that putting New York in the column of the enfranchised states will bring such tremendous influence to bear upon our neighbors, that we shall repeat the example of Wyoming in the speedy imitation of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont. And we can look for greater result still, that victory in New York will help free the women of the world.

WE reaffirm our belief that "the woman's hour has struck." We do not ignore the difficulties and the work before us in the coming year, though we have good warrant to think that they are lessening rather than increasing. We fully realize that "colors seen by candle light do not (always) seem the same by day," and changes in the hue of some promises will prove no surprise. But as a rule promises are made in fast colors this year. We know our opponents and the source of their opposition. We expect to see the anti forces braving dreaded publicity, going even farther afield to prove that "woman's place is the home," and we expect to hear the feeble reminiscent pipe of "indirect influence" as the accompanying music of their pilgrimage. But we also know our friends, and rejoice that every day brings redoubled numbers. We are optimists of the strong common sense type. We are fighters for a cause of whose justice no sane, right thinking person can doubt, and we intend to fight under our fine leadership till the victory is won.

FEDERAL Amendment Day showed the result of very quiet work by "the noisy minority" as our anti friends affectionately designate us. Leaders and workers of the Party in New York City had interviewed Congressional candidates of the major parties with satisfactory results. Every candidate was on record, and each one was invited to attend the meeting in

Under Inspection.

The Evening Journal.

his district on October 21st and speak for himself. If unable to be present his record was read. Where candidates were present, in almost every instance they came out unqualifiedly for suffrage and expressed belief in a Federal amendment. One exception was a candidate who while not professing conversion to suffrage, did not wish his record to read "unalterably opposed."

Save the Voter.

TENDER consideration for the rights of the voter is exercising the minds of the anti-suffragists. So deep is their concern that it borders on a state of mind which they are wont to call "hysterical" when alleged of a suffragist. They are out to save the voter from "representative misrepresentation," to warn him of his peril, to protect him from disfranchisement. Plaintively and naively they ask, "How many men understand what the proposed Federal amendment means to them? Are they aware that the attempt to enfranchise women by means of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States is really an attempt to deprive them of their right to express by ballot their opinion on this question?"

Sad to relate, but historically true, dastardly attempts of a similar nature have been made seventeen times and have succeeded! But the antis will be no party to an eighteenth attempt. They will save the voter, ensure the rights of the state, and murmuring: "You have waked me too soon, I must slumber again," they will drop off to sleep contented in their disfranchisement. A sense of humor is a saving grace.

As They Vote

AS the presidential campaign draws to a close, we cannot but be impressed with the attention given to the probable vote in the suffrage states, particularly Illinois. While this state has not full woman suffrage, the measure it has is evidently of vital importance to both parties. Women's votes will tip the scale in Illinois on election day. Leaders of every political hue have known this ever since the registration disclosed that in Chicago alone over 300,000 women have registered; outside the city some 400,000 have qualified. If the proportion of women who vote to those who register is the same as in the case of men, there are at least 500,000 votes which are an unknown factor. Political mathematicians in figuring out possible majorities are confronted with, "wait till the women have been heard from." How will the thousands of women factory workers vote, how will the wives and kin of labor union men vote, how will the teachers and professional women, the social workers, and the women of leisure vote, how will the antis vote? This is the question and election day alone will bring the answer.

A Timely Demise

ONE happening during the campaign of the dominant parties in this year of grace, is the death after a lingering illness of that venerable lady, "Indirect Influence." Who killed Mrs. Cock Robin? Mesdames Direct Influence, whose help has been sought by both parties in the political battle, look wise and say nothing.

Truth compels the admission that Madame is not always of the suffrage belief; she is sometimes an anti who gives of her substance and her time to winning votes not for herself or her sisters, perish the thought, but either for a candidate who believes in suffrage and has voted for it, or for a candidate who is of the same belief without having given similar testimony of his faith, but offers the federal amendment as a guarantee. The suffrage Madame is out for her candidate and also for votes for women. A distinction *with* a difference.

The State Convention

Harriet Burton Laidlaw

WHEN the delegates, alternates and visitors to the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, who will come together in Albany in November, glance over their convention programs they will see the results of that reconstruction and standardization period that has followed our preliminary 1915 campaign for suffrage.

On that firm foundation of district organization work which Mrs. Catt, with her statesmanlike view of things, saw long ago was the essential basis for efficient organization, our suffrage scope has been amplified and developed by the unremitting executive work and the inspiring devotion of our present Chairman, Mrs. Whitehouse.

A tremendous amount remains to be done to complete the great frame-work of our organization but even now we have a wonderful machine, a medium of social and political expression that is more potent than anything that has ever existed without the reinforcing power of the vote behind it.

The great object of this convention is not only to increase our efficiency, to renew our pledges of loyalty and devotion to this great work before us in New York State but to bring a realization of power into the hearts and minds of every woman engaged in our campaign.

Month after month during the year, each Election District Captain, each local Committee-woman, each Leader and each Chairman works in her own greater or smaller field, often with little time to realize of what she is a part. Our conventions are sort of great reinforcing stations. They are the time when we are "charged" to run for another twelve months by a realization that it is the same great current that runs throughout the whole body of our well-wired and sensitive organization.

As the great convention presided over by Mrs. Catt at Atlantic City geared the whole national movement higher, so our State Convention, with both Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Whitehouse and hundreds of our other splendid state leaders to vitalize us afresh will bring this most important and crucial New York State suffrage movement up to a tremendous degree of power.

When we met in state convention in the fall of 1914 we all had a realization of the significance of the New York State campaign to the women of the nation, to the women of the world. We come to the 1916 convention, the last that will be held before our campaign for victory in 1917, with even a deeper feeling of *noblesse oblige*. Because so much hangs in the balance, not only for ourselves but for womanhood the world over, New York State women will be prepared to work with a fire and a consecration unparalleled in the history of great movements. We have suffered no defeat in our initial campaign. We have put on record over half a million votes in favor of woman suffrage. It remains for us to so mobilize our forces that there can be no doubt that we will obtain that other one-sixth of New York State votes necessary to carry the woman suffrage amendment at the polls.

The deliberations of this convention week, so significant for our organization, upon which so much depends for our victory a year hence, will be marked, I believe, by an increased capacity for organization. However large the convention may be the women who are there will realize the importance of their work for they will be a delegated body and a great democratic organization which is formed true to the best governmental ideals that our great republic has given us.

Each delegate will be a legislator in whose hands lie important responsibilities toward tens of thousands of her suffrage constituents at home. For each woman at the convention there will be a great body of the rank and file of our woman suffrage party members who are doing the basic work in our election districts. The loose ends that are brought together, the plans of procedure that are formulated, the ideas and methods that are crystallized into definite lines are all to be taken back to every city, town, hamlet and farm district of this state.

On Monday, the 20th, there will be an executive committee meeting where many important plans and suggestions will be marshalled for presentation to the convention at large.

Our meetings are to be held in a new building in Albany called the Eastern Star Hall. The name is prophetic, for New York State will be the first *eastern star* on our national banner! It may be the thirteenth of the original states where woman suffrage has been granted and we hope it will be the fourteenth or the fifteenth if the two states now in campaign shall carry. But whatever our number we will be the eastern star, the eastern star that will light all other states to freedom.

The organization conference on the morning of Tuesday, the 21st, the welcome by the Mayor

at two o'clock Tuesday afternoon, the reports of committees and the call to service in the speech of the chairman, Mrs. Whitehouse, who has a right to demand strenuous service since she herself leads the way; ending with the banquet Tuesday evening at the Hotel Ten Eyck, will mark the first regular convention day.

More deliberations and reports will follow Wednesday. The report of the great New York City organization will be given by Miss Mary Garrett Hay. That day is also marked by a picturesque incident, the decoration by a medal of the suffragist who has brought in the greatest sheaf of enrollments during Harvest Week.

Suffragists ought to work hard for they certainly are rich in inspiration. We have not yet ceased to thrill with the high portent of Mrs. Catt's "Woman's Hour" speech at the National Convention, and Wednesday afternoon we are to be reinforced by another of her incomparable calls to service. On Wednesday evening a reception will be given to the delegates and alternates at the Executive Mansion by the Governor and Mrs. Whitman.

Thursday more problems will be considered and solved and many practical working methods discussed. The reports of the various sections of the state party come on that day. The event of that evening is an open mass meeting.

Friday there will be a strenuous final meeting of the State Committee to dispose of unfinished business. This will be the great, last stand of the convention which is mobilizing for the 1917 attack!

We have been saying with greater hope than has ever animated any political campaign, "Victory in 1917." After the State Convention we believe every worker will go back to her district shouting the victory slogan.

Who Are the Antis?

THE liquor forces have developed an organized opposition, apparently supported by large funds, which have been an active factor in every campaign except two since 1890, and in those two we won," said Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the Atlantic City Convention. "The secretary of one State liquor association recently said to a man of honor that they would not allow another State to be carried for suffrage within the next ten years.

"We know that in the Colorado campaign the brewers of Denver printed false statements and caused them to be put under the door of every house in the city. We know that in the last unsuccessful campaign in Oregon the order went out from the liquor forces to the saloons of the State to deliver a stated number of votes in opposition to the suffrage amendment. Every suffragist in Michigan seemed to agree that the amendment was counted out in the first campaign, that the ballot boxes were stuffed in the second and that the agents were the liquor forces.

"The Attorney-General who was serving at the time in Nebraska has declared he believes the amendment was counted out there, and again the charge lies at the same door. The wet counties in Iowa certainly defeated the amendment there. The Boston and Maine Railway contributed to defeat the suffrage question in the constitutional convention of New Hampshire and afterward it was found that it had been done in collusion with the liquor lobby. The brewers arrested on the Federal charge of conspiracy in elections in Pittsburgh are supposed to have contributed large sums to defeat the question in four Eastern campaigns."

"The following exhibits, taken from "Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Interests" published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company may be of interest to our readers. It was prepared in its present form by Miss Kate Devereux Blake.

EXHIBIT I.

Quotations from "PROGRESS."

"Official Organ of the State Retail Liquor Dealers' Protective Association of Wisconsin."

"A campaign against woman suffrage and other dangers of the brewing and affiliated industries that threaten the trade, is to be waged by *PROGRESS* from now on until the fall election. *PROGRESS* will go to every saloon keeper, brewer and to many barbershops and hotels while this campaign is on.

"Advertise in *PROGRESS* and get the benefit of this vigorous campaign for the good of the cause."

KEEP YOUR EYE ON THIS!

"If you are in any way identified with the liquor business, legitimate, licensed and legalized by your fellow citizens, and have its future welfare at heart, it is necessary that you keep your weather eye on this movement for woman suffrage. The principal boosters for this issue are the PROHIBITIONISTS. It means additional votes and strength for Prohibition.

THE VOTE OF WOMEN.

"Women of Illinois who were given suffrage have responded. At the recent election in the Sucker State no less than sixteen out of twenty-three towns were voted 'dry.'

"And the same thing—or worse—is in store for Wisconsin if the women of this State are given the ballot.

"The women won the 'dry' proposition in Illinois by a vote of four to one, which shows that they can accomplish things.

EXHIBIT II.

Quotations from the "National Forum," the Organ of the Liquor Dealers, Published at Butte, Montana.

"Right now the question of woman suffrage is before the people of this State. If it carries, the saloons and breweries are doomed. The suffragist advocates have announced it and the history of suffrage States has

proven it. Whether you like it or not, it is a fact which must be faced. To vote the saloons out of business is one of the reasons why women are asking for the franchise. Joseph Reinach, a well-known French deputy and the leading prohibitionist of that country, said recently:

"'Real universal suffrage, including women, will one day be the result of our campaign against the national peril, alcoholism. It was to wipe out this scourge that the Scandinavian countries gave the vote to women.'

"The best policy is to admit that women will vote the saloons out of business if given the chance, and then put up a fight against the suffrage amendment."

EXHIBIT III.

During the closing days of the Michigan campaign of 1913, the text of one of the campaign leaflets of the Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, bearing the name and address of the Association and the names of its officers, appeared as a paid advertisement in a number of the newspapers of Macomb County.

Its publication was ordered and paid for by Joseph Mathews, Secretary of the Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers Association.

EXHIBIT IV.

In the Oregon Campaign the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association sent out a circular which said in part:

"It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon.

"That means that every retailer must himself bring in twenty-five votes election day.

"Every retailer can get twenty-five votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman, and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win."

EXHIBIT V.

At the Puaxsutawney Fair in Pennsylvania in 1915, three liquor men arranged for the Anti-suffrage booth and helped the Anti-suffragist who came to take charge of it to decorate the booth. They were the Treasurer of the Elk Lick Brewing Company, and two wholesale liqour dealers.

EXHIBIT VI.

In the Ohio campaign in 1914, Anti-temperance and Anti-suffrage literature were folded together and distributed by the same person from house to house.

The preceding exhibits from official sources are submitted for the consideration of thoughtful, right minded persons. It is for such to make their own deductions and to determine on which side they will range themselves.

Women's Work and Expediency

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at this writing, in session at St. Louis, is again confronted with the question of according women a share in the direction of the work of the church. A resolution introduced by Robert H. Gardiner of Maine sets forth that: "as women are allowed to do most of the work of the church in prayer, in teaching, and in Sunday schools and in boys' and girls' clubs, and in giving money for missions, charity, and parochial support, they should share with men the direction of the work of the church."

The Committee on Amendments reported that while it had great appreciation for the work which the women did in the Church, it regarded the proposal as "inexpedient at this time." The House of Bishops the next day also pronounced the proposal as "inexpedient."

But Mr. Gardiner in the House of Deputies had already moved that his original resolution be substituted for the report of the committee. The resolution went back on the calendar, and will come in for debate before the Convention closes.

The unprejudiced lay mind fails to see any intimate connection between the expression of "great appreciation" of women's work and the declaration of "inexpedient at this time" to accord the same due recognition. The Convention is awakened to changed national and social conditions in which women already have their part, and it is devoting time and thought to the elimination of archaic expressions in the various services. Therefore it is most remarkable that it does not at once and for all time eliminate an archaic attitude toward women without whose aid and service the work of the church would fall sadly in arrears.

Numbers Talk.

Chicago is jubilant, and to her other claims adds the distinction of being the banner registration city in this presidential year. Totals on the registration books show 808,728 voters. But male voters alone did not roll up the big number exceeding that of any other city in the United States. Heavy registration by women is the explanation of the city's complacent smile. Just 304,261 of these enfranchised women have thus signified their intention of forsaking their homes for the fifteen minutes necessary to exercise the duty and privilege of citizenship.

Another anti argument so-called demolished by the indisputable logic of figures. Women do register, and when the returns come in Everett P. Wheeler will have to revise the Case against Suffrage as to the number of women who vote.

Two Wings of the Federal Amendment

Henrietta W. Livermore

THE Federal amendment has two wings and can fly only by means of both. These wings are action by Congress and action by State Legislatures; the motive power back of both is the same—*the voters.*

Any action by Congress or State Legislature comes in response to a distant but insistent demand of the people who form the voting constituencies. In both cases the constituences are identical, the same people voting for federal and state representatives. It follows, therefore, that the most essential and direct work for an amendment to the Federal Constitution should be among those who do the voting. Where do they vote? In the election district. Here then is our base, the rock bottom on which to build—The Election District.

Many suffragists are opposed to waging more state campaigns. When the woman suffrage amendment does not carry, they believe the people are against the movement. But the *people* are *not* against woman suffrage for the very reason that as a whole they never vote upon the question; only one-half the people are permitted to vote at all on the proposition, and that the least interested half. Woman suffrage continuously gains friends, and votes and strength. It can never be defeated until it has been tried. Where it has been tried, it has never been lost. The proposition to allow its trial may be defeated by men, as it has been sometimes. But in that case manhood suffrage itself suffers a defeat by showing it has not enough stamina to stand by its own principles.

In 1825, Governor De Witt Clinton said, "Without the right of suffrage liberty cannot exist. It is the vital principle of representative government." In 1916, Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of the State of New York, affirms, "The right to vote is the only essential right to citizenship. It is the right, preservative of all rights." President Wilson has also declared, "We are interested in the United States, politically, speaking in nothing but human liberty." The logical deduction from these utterances is that when men vote against woman suffrage they vote against human liberty and representative government.

Whether we seek enfranchisement by state referendum or by Federal amendment, the scope of the work is the same, and its scene of action is the same: education of the male voters in the election district in the principles of true representation, and the creation among them of a demand for *democratic liberty.*

The plan of the Woman Suffrage Party, evolved by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in 1910, meets this very situation. The Party principle of organization by voting precincts is the most effective constituency plan, and the one needed by both wings of the Federal amendment. An amendment cannot pass Congress unless the organized party constituency is behind every Senator and Congressman, and ratification cannot be had unless the organized party constituency is behind every State Senator and every Assemblyman. Thus the **Election District is the tap root of political power.**

The question of securing equal suffrage by Federal amendment is in the hands of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, a federation of state associations, of which the New York State Woman Suffrage Party is one. For many years the Association has been working through its Congressional Committee to accomplish the initial step by securing the passage of an amendment through both Houses of Congress. Whenever this is accomplished the second step in nation wide suffrage is the ratification of the amendment by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, a task of equal magnitude.

It is conceded that the present political situation gives great promise that Congress will pass the Federal Amendment. Should this happen, the second step looms before us. The following points will then have to be considered:

1. To secure ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the States every Northern, Eastern and Western State Legislature but one must endorse the amendment.

2. The recent decision of the Supreme Court on the unconstitutionality of the "Grandfather" clause may line up against the amendment those States which have a large colored population.

3. The strong States Rights section may oppose the Amendment.

4. The fifteen State Legislatures which recently voted to submit the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the voters evaded direct responsibility. In ratifying the Federal Amendment they would assume direct responsibility.

5. Legislatures are more sensitive politically to party dictation, party political debts and business interests than are the voters.

6. Legislatures which were willing to submit the question cannot be strictly counted on to ratify.

7. By the Federal Amendment there will be no vote given to a woman in a single state *unless and until* the thirty-six state legislatures ratify. In a successful state referendum, on the contrary, the women of that state receive the vote *at once,* and thus add to the power of the four million women voters who have already received the franchise through state action.

Ratification bids fair to be an arduous task, but one which can be conquered by the strongest and most efficient organization in the election districts. Therefore while our leaders are planning the strategic tactics, the duty of every suffragist is, as heretofore, persistent education, agitation and organization among the voters.

The Election District is the tap-root of political power.

The Short End.

Wellsburg (W. Va.) News.

Federal Amendments

THE idea of a Federal Amendment to the Constitution of the United States enfranchising all the native born and naturalized women of the nation seems to the opponents of equal suffrage a sort of sacrilegious laying hands on the ark of government.

Yet the Constitution lives after all these years and after it has been amended many times, seventeen in all. In fact before the tardy ratification of the last of the colonies, Rhode Island, was more than seven months old ten amendments were made and practically form part of the original document.

Amendment XI. was declared in force January 8, 1798; six years later it was necessary to amend the article pertaining to the method of electing the president and the vice-president. Then there was a lull until 1865 when the Thirteenth Amendment was carried which prohibited slavery within the United States or in any place subject to their jurisdiction. In 1868 followed the Fourteenth Amendment whose first section begins with this enigmatical statement: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside." The succeeding section defined "citizens" as men freed by the Thirteenth Amendment. This cleared the way for the Fifteenth Amendment known as the negro citizenship amendment.

The Sixteenth Amendment gave Congress power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived. Hence women were included. The last amendment placed the election of Senators on exactly the same basis as the election of Congressmen. They shall be elected by the *people* and they are in the equal suffrage states. In all other states people means male voters.

Every amendment made to the Constitution has been necessitated by changing political or social conditions. Not a single change has been made with endorsement of all the states, the last amendment secured only the necessary three-fourths vote.

We note several interesting points in studying the history of these amendments; first as to terms, we learn that the preamble to the Constitution should truthfully read: "We, the men of the United States, etc.," as the document was made by men and for men, since every word referring to a human being is construed to mean a male human being. We also find that each amendment has become the law of the land without causing upheaval of any kind. We are therefore emboldened in our determination to secure an Eighteenth amendment which shall mean exactly what it says, that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of *sex.* The logic of changed conditions enforces the demand.

How I Became Converted to Woman Suffrage

Lawrence Abbott

President, The Outlook Company

TEN years ago my attitude toward woman suffrage was that of thousands of other American men—one of amused indifference. A simple statement of how that indifference has been changed into a conviction that woman suffrage is a desirable and essential step in the progress of American democracy, may be of interest.

When I became twenty-one I exercised the right of suffrage because the law permitted me and I had been taught that my civic obligations compelled me to do so. The arguments that men and women are born into the world divinely endowed with the inalienable right to vote made little impression on me then and makes little impression on me now.

History showed me that to man the suffrage had been granted by government (whether the government was autocratic or democratic) slowly, reluctantly, with many restrictions, and reserving to government the power of alienation.

In the United States a man must be 21 years of age before he can vote; in Hungary 20; in Austria 24; in Belgium, parts of the German Empire, Japan, Holland and Norway, 25; and in Denmark 30. Thus it is conceivable that a man might vote in Hungary at twenty years of age and moving to Denmark immediately and becoming a Danish citizen, might have to wait nearly ten years for the right to vote again. His capacity to vote had been established in Hungary but his right to vote has been withheld at the discretion of Denmark.

If President Eliot of Harvard, not only highly capable of voting for a President of the United States, but eminently fitted to be President of the United States himself, were to change his legal residence from Boston to New York on the first of January, 1916, he could not vote for a President of the United States in November, 1916, for government has restricted the vote in New York State to those who have made the State their legal place of residence for at least one year. Government would thus take away or alienate the right of suffrage from the most intelligent voter now living in the State of Massachusetts.

Clearly, it seems to me the right of suffrage for men is neither inherent or inalienable and one reason why we woman suffragists have sometimes failed in convincing legislatures is because we have too often mistakenly demanded the suffrage for women as their inherent, inalienable and God-given right.

Thus the abstract, philosophical discussion of the woman suffrage question failed to influence me. It was what that most delightful of all modern philosophers, the late William James, would perhaps have called the pragmatic or practical everyday philosophy of woman suffrage that converted me. It began gradually to percolate into my brain that the woman suffrage movement instead of being the agitation of a few impractical but devout visionaries and idealists, was a world-wide movement. I began to perceive that it was a question that no intelligent or thinking man could regard with indifference, as I had regarded it. I found that it was a great problem of public policy and I must "get off the fence" and either oppose it or advocate it as I would any other social or political question of public policy.

I found that no social or political movement of modern times has swept over the civilized world so rapidly and so extensively as woman suffrage. In the English speaking world the idea—to say nothing of the practical application of the idea—is scarcely more than fifty years old. In that fifty years government has granted to women the partial or entire right to vote in such progressive, successful and practical countries as the United States, the Australian commonwealth, New Zealand, Norway and Finland. It has even become a practical question in Russia.

I found after some careful study and investigation that in no country where woman suffrage has been enacted by the legislative power has there even been a suggestion made, because of impracticality or unsuccessful working to repeal the legislation. The facts, not the prophecies but the facts convinced me that woman suffrage has a record of remarkable accomplishments in modern civilization, a steady and natural growth and an assured future.

I then began to look at my own country and my own associates. I found that without a single exception every woman of my personal acquaintance, whether she was a home-maker, a wage worker, or an artist, if she had to face the economic problem of making her own living by herself, on her own feet and without the support or aid of a father or a brother or a husband

was a woman suffragist. It is not a fad with these women, it is a very real and vital question. They want, and I think rightly, to have something to say directly and effectively about the laws which affect them in their daily lives.

I found that not only the women who were solving the economic problem for themselves, but that the women who are most active in helping society to solve it, have found that they need the right to vote in their work.

A woman who has influenced me, and to whom I am very glad to pay this tribute of my appreciation is Miss Josephine Goldmark of New York. Miss Goldmark is one of the officers of the National Consumer's League and is the author of a very remarkable book entitled "Fatigue and Efficiency" which is a scientific, non-polemical and permanent contribution to the literature of social economics. Miss Goldmark's arguments and her briefs upon what may be called the maternal potentialities of American women have had an acknowledged influence upon the Supreme Court of the United States, and have done much to improve the conditions of American women as wage-workers and home-makers. Miss Goldmark wants the vote in her work and I say she should have it.

The attitude of a good many American men towards the political capacity of women is very much like that of Mr. Bagnet towards his wife. The Bagnets, as you remember, and their friend, Trooper George Rouncewell, are three of the most engaging characters that Dickens has pictured in "Bleak House." Bagnet is an ex-artillery man who is keeping a little musical instrument shop in London while his old comrade Trooper George is the proprietor of a shooting gallery. George has the highest sense of honor but no head for business and becoming involved in some financial difficulties as a result of borrowing from a money-lending shark goes to consult Bagnet and the consultation is described by Dickens in the following delightful passage.

Both father and son salute the trooper heartily. He saying, in due season, that he has come to advise with Mr. Bagnet, Mr. Bagnet hospitably declares that he will hear of no business until after dinner; and that his friend shall not partake of his counsel, without first partaking of boiled pork and greens. The trooper yielding to this invitation, he and Mr. Bagnet, not to embarrass the domestic preparations, go forth to take a turn up and down the little street, which they promenade with measured tread and folded arms, as if it were a rampart.

"George," says Mr. Bagnet. "You know me. It's my old girl that advises. She has the head. But I never own to it before her. Discipline must be maintained. Wait till the greens is off her mind. Then we'll consult. Whatever the old girl says, do—do it!"

"I intend to, Mat," replies the other. "I would sooner take her opinion than that of a college."

"College," returns Mr. Bagnet, in short sentences, bassoonlike. "What college could you leave—in another quarter of the world—with nothing but a gray cloak and an umbrella—to make its way home to Europe? The old girl would do it to-morrow. Did it once!"

"You are right," says Mr. George.

"What college," pursues Bagnet, "could you set up in life—with two penn'orth of white lime—a penn'orth of fuller's earth—a ha'porth of sand—and the rest of the change out of sixpence, in money? That's what the old girl started on. In the present business."

"I am rejoiced to hear it's thriving, Mat."

"The old girl," says Mr. Bagnet, acquiescing, "saves. Has a stocking somewhere. With money in it. I never saw it. But I know she's got it. Wait till the greens is off her mind. Then she'll set you up."

"She is a treasure!" exclaims Mr. George.

"She's more. But I never own to it before her. Discipline must be maintained. It was the old girl that brought out my musical abilities. I should have been in the artillery now, but for the old girl. Six years I hammered at the fiddle. Ten at the flute. The old girl said it wouldn't do; intention good, but want of flexibility; try the bassoon. The old girl borrowed a bassoon from the bandmaster of the Rifle Regiment. I practised in the trenches. Got on, got another, get a living by it!"

George remarks that she looks as fresh as a rose, and as sound as an apple.

"The old girl," says Mr. Bagnet in reply, "is a thoroughly fine woman. Consequently, she is like a thoroughly fine day. Gets finer as she gets on. I never saw the old girl's equal. But I never own to it before her. Discipline must be maintained|" * * *

The dinner done, Mrs. Bagnet, assisted by the younger branches (who polish their own cups and platters, knives and forks), makes all the dinner garniture shine as brightly as before, and puts it all away; first sweeping the hearth to the end that Mr. Bagnet and the visitor may not be retarded in the smoking of their pipes. These household cares involve much pattening and counter-pattening in the back yard, and considerable use of a pail, which is finally so happy as to assist in the ablutions of Mrs. Bagnet herself. That old girl reappearing by-and-by, quite fresh, and sitting down to her needlework, then and only then—the greens being only then to be considered as entirely off her mind—Mr. Bagnet requests the trooper to state his case.

This Mr. George does with great discretion; appearing to address himself to Mr. Bagnet, but having an eye solely on the old girl all the time, as Bagnet has himself. She, equally discreet, busies herself with her needlework. The case fully stated, Mr. Bagnet resorts to his standard artifice for the maintenance of discipline.

"That's the whole of it, is it George?" says he.

"That's the whole of it."

"You act according to my opinion?"

"I shall be guided," replies George, "entirely by it."

"Old girl," says Mr. Bagnet, "give him my opinion. You know it. Tell him what it is."

Now I have come to the conclusion that women have a real capacity for intelligent judgment and action in political affairs and I do not propose any longer, like Mr. Bagnet to accept the fruits of their judgment without openly admitting their capacity for fear that it will destroy discipline.

This is not a question of philosophy, it is a question of capability. It is not a theoretical question, it is a practical one.

Who was the individual chosen as the best trained and most competent for the difficult job of taking care of the unhappy criminal and social derelicts on Blackwell's Island? A woman! Katherine Bement Davis!

Who was the individual chosen as the best for social and economic betterment in Chicago? A woman! Jane Addams! I declare to you I am ashamed to look Miss Davis, Miss Addams and Miss Goldmark in the face when I think that legislatures of men declined to give them a voice in making the laws which they have proved they can administer better than most men.

I am told that under woman suffrage the silly, thoughtless, inefficient and corrupt women will vote. They undoubtedly will. But if I did not believe that the thoughtful, intelligent, righteous and genuinely patriotic women of America enormously outnumber the heartless and corrupt women, I should give up all hope for democracy, and regard the ballot for anybody, man or woman, as a useless form. For a Nation in its last analysis is largely what its women make it.

On Record

SPECTACULAR work has formed a negligible part of the activities of the Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York during the present campaign. The new status of suffrage has necessitated a change of method of work. The endorsement of the principle itself by both dominant parties in national and state conventions changes the situation materially. That "suffrage is coming" is admitted by all but a handful of antis still wandering in the mist of prejudice. The only remaining questions to be determined are "how" and "when"?

In our own state both parties are committed to the re-submission of the amendment in 1917; interviews with candidates for the legislature give assurance that the tactics of the last session will not be repeated and that the measure will be passed without delay. That disposes of one "how" and opens the way to "when" in 1917. Since over half a million votes were cast for the amendment in 1915 we have every good reason to believe that the next vote will show an overwhelming majority.

No good general however goes into battle with all his force engaged, there is always the reserve to be brought up should need require. Hence we have a second "how," namely a Federal amendment. To be sure both national platforms refer the extension of suffrage to women to state action, a sort of a loophole which does not in the least change the provisions of Article V. of the Constitution of the United States, entitled "Constitution how amended."

Therefore the Party in New York City has interviewed candidates in each Congressional district in the city, has tabulated the result and presents each man's record on suffrage and a Federal amendment to enfranchise one half the adult people of the country.

First column, attitude towards suffrage; second column, stand on Federal amendment.

2nd Dist.	T. H. Burden, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	C. P. Caldwell, Dem.	Yes	Yes
3rd Dist.	J. J. Chambers, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	F. P. Bent, Dem.	Yes	Yes
4th Dist.	M. Stein, Rep.	Yes	Uncertain
	H. H. Dale, Dem.	Yes	Yes
5th Dist.	C. W. Phillipsbar, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	J. F. Maher, Dem.	Yes	Yes
6th Dist.	F. W. Rowe, Rep.	Yes	Uncertain
	C. I. Stengel, Dem.	Yes	Yes
7th Dist.	R. W. Bowman, Rep.	Yes	No
	J. J. Fitzgerald, Dem.	Yes	No
8th Dist.	W. L. Morehouse, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	D. J. Griffin, Dem.	Yes	No
9th Dist.	O. W. Swift, Rep.	No	No
	H. H. Torberg, Dem.	Yes	Yes
10th Dist.	R. L. Haskell, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	F. Wasserman, Dem.	Yes	Uncertain
11th Dist.	M. Lesser, Rep.	Yes	Uncertain
	D. J. Riordan, Dem.	No	No
12th Dist.	L. M. Block, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	L. Saunders, Dem.	Yes	Yes
13th Dist.	F. Dostal, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	C. D. Sullivan, Dem.	Yes	Yes
14th Dist.	F. H. La Guardia, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	M. F. Farley, Dem.	No	No
15th Dist.	W. Henkel, Jr., Rep.	Yes	Yes
	M. F. Conroy, Dem.	Yes	Uncertain
16th Dist.	W. S. Taft, Rep.	Yes	No
	P. J. Dooling, Dem.	Yes	No
17th Dist.	Lindell Bates, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	J. F. Carew, Dem.	No	No
18th Dist.	G. B. Francis, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	T. G. Patten, Dem.	Yes	No
19th Dist.	Walter M. Chandler, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	M. Schapp, Dem.	Yes	Yes
20th Dist.	I. Siegel, Rep.	Yes	Uncertain
	B. Rosenblatt, Dem.	Yes	Yes

21st Dist.	M. M. Ansorge, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	M. Hulbert, Dem.	Yes	Yes
22nd Dist.	J. A. Francis, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	H. Buckner, Dem.	Yes	Yes
23rd Dist.	W. S. Bennett, Rep.	Yes	Yes
	D. C. Oliver, Dem.	Yes	Yes

Summary: Of 22 Republican candidates interviewed, 21 are in favor of suffrage and one, opposed; 15 are in favor of a Federal amendment, 3 are opposed, and 4 are uncertain. Of 22 democratic candidates, 19 are in favor of suffrage, 3 are opposed; 13 are in favor of a Federal amendment, 8 are opposed and 1 is uncertain.

This significant record was secured by patient, tactful work by capable party women, who made call after call and waited long for a hearing in some cases. Every personal expression of the candidate was received as a matter of confidence, and as such is not recorded here. It is interesting to note that no candidate was uncertain of his suffrage sentiments; the time for occupying the fence seems to have gone by, the replies received to that query certainly indicate a decided change of attitude. These men are on record as to opinion, and the record ought to make good reading for voters of suffragist belief. A Federal amendment to enfranchise women will without doubt be introduced in the Sixty-fifth Congress when it will be up to the successful candidates who have declared themselves in favor of such amendment to make good by voting for the same. We have not interviewed candidates as a sort of holiday proceeding, it is a matter of dead earnest. Women's help has been sought in the present campaign by politicians of every party; promises galore have been made. Payments must be made in kind, one hundred per cent., no discount considered.

From Here and There

Women on Farms.

"The woman on the farm is a most important factor in agriculture. Her domestic work undoubtedly has a direct bearing on the efficiency of the field workers; her handling of the home and its surroundings contributes to the cash intake, and, in addition, hers is largely the responsibility for contributing the social and other features which make farm life satisfactory and pleasurable. On her rests largely the moral and mental development of the children, and on her attitude depends in a great part the important question of whether the succeeding generation will continue to farm or will seek the allurement of life in the cities."

With all the importance and value of the woman's agricultural work she has not the vote to bring about better conditions in her farm life. The schools, good roads, bridges and all the country necessities are denied her opinion and judgment. Rural politics need adjustment to include women's votes.

One Step Forward.

In Lousiana, married women have recently emerged from a class with imbeciles and interdicts as far as their property rights are concerned. By the passage through the State Legislature of the Stafford bill, a wife may now make contracts in connection with the management or disposition of her own property.

Women Are Road Builders.

What is believed to be the first road built under the active management of a woman, has been completed in Arkansas. Mrs. George R. Case has built a good dirt road for the use of a motor truck service from Ruddells to Mountain View.

Sleeping Cars No Natural Right.

The first woman to "break in" on man's exclusive right to sleeping cars, was President Lincoln's wife. Chivalry in 1860 compelled men to protect traveling women from a chance to lie down.

Superfluous Chivalry.

In an editorial of September 25th, the Toronto *Star* considers "the new place of woman in the world." "The dominant idea," says the *Star*, "is that women have become the comrades of men. That implies equality—not uniformity. There is danger of the loss of certain little graceful courtesies—such as the raising of the hat or the man opening the door for the women. If we keep steadily in view that idea of equality and justice, we may be confident that what is good will survive, and what is superfluous will disappear.

"After all, there was a good deal of humbug and hypocrisy in the old system. The man's hat was raised punctiliously, but somewhere some drunken husband was beating his wife, some loafer was living on his wife's hard work and savings. The woman was so sanctified that she must be protected from the arduous and dangerous labor of making a cross on a ballot; but she could scrub a floor. In this delicate feminine task of floor-washing she went down on her knees, thereby offering a curious resemblance to the old-fashioned gallant lover proposing marriage. It may have happened that the lover went down on his knees before marriage and the wife afterwards."

How New York Protects Women

Adaline W. Sterling

THAT the same processes of law do not apply to men and women is evidenced by a new phase in the Sylvester case. Details of the charge made against Miss Sylvester were given in the October issue of *The Woman Voter,* and the disposition of the case by Magistrate George H. Folwell before whom it was heard. It will be remembered that despite the fact that Miss Sylvester is a Brooklyn church worker, that she denied the charge absolutely and brought witnesses who testified to her good reputation, she was found guilty but was released on suspended sentence. Against her denial and the testimony was the uncorroborated statement of a paid detective.

An appeal was taken from the judgment of Magistrate Folwell. On October 19th, Judge Fawcett in the Kings County Court handed down, without comment, a decision affirming the conviction. Thereupon Miss Sylvester's lawyer announced he would carry the case to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

If the original conviction on unsupported testimony cannot but be regarded as an outrage which calls for the condemnation of all right-thinking men and women, what shall be thought of Judge Fawcett's decision confirming the same? There is nothing to indicate any change in the original circumstance, and, as it stands, the decision must be regarded as encouragement in a practice manifestly unjust and illegal. Women should be protected in their rights by the law in every case. If a man cannot be convicted on the unsupported testimony of a woman, neither should she be convicted on his uncorroborated statement.

SAMUEL KIRSCH, otherwise "Sam the Peddler," received his just desert at his second trial as a white slaver. The case was tried in General Sessions before Judge Otto A. Rosalsky. On October 16th it took the jury, selected from a special panel, just as many minutes as the month had days to bring a verdict of conviction. The maximum sentence for Kirsch's crime is twenty years' imprisonment. The man was remanded to the Tombs to await sentence on completion of the other White Slave trials.

In discharging the jury Judge Rosalsky said the verdict was fair and just, and that Kirsch should have been convicted on his first trial. This comment should be a stinging rebuke to the five jurors who stood for acquittal when the man was first tried.

"Girls Wanted."

J. Glintenkamp in The Masses.

NO law on our statute books declares that the prostitute is outside the pale of and the protection of the law. But the following instance witnessed and vouched for by a prominent member of the Men's League shows the status of the woman offender against morality is virtually considered that of an outlaw.

Some time since a woman charged a man in a magistrate's court with atrocious assault and battery. She was beaten up almost beyond recognition. In a uniform drone the magistrate asked the following questions:

"Is this the man who has injured you?"
"Yes."
"Are you living with this man?"
"Yes."
"Are you married to him?"
"No."
"The case is dismissed."

The logic of the decision appears to be that a moral offence involving both the man and the woman, renders the latter an utterly reprehensible outcast entitled to no protection before the law, while it permits the former to go his way to beat up this woman or some other unfortunate woman at his own sweet will. Suppose the position had been reversed and the woman had beaten the man almost beyond recognition, would the absence of the marriage tie have been sufficient ground for permitting the woman to go scot free?

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by
Adaline W. Sterling

ON Federal Amendment Day, October 21st, meetings were held in every Congressional district of New York City. All were well attended and at each the Woman's Protest was read, the resolution for a Federal amendment was presented and carried, the record of the candidates, where they were not present to answer for themselves, was given as to their stand on suffrage and on the question of a Federal Amendment.

Among the noteworthy meetings held in Manhattan was that of the 14th Congressional district held at the Friends' Seminary, 226 East 16th Street. Mrs. E. S. Van Zile, leader of the 12th Assembly District W. S. P., presided, and the speakers were F. H. La Guardia, the Republican candidate, and Edward S. Van Zile. The hall was filled to its utmost capacity and the speakers received close attention. Mr. La Guardia declared himself unreservedly for suffrage and for a Federal amendment. He promised, if elected, to work for such amendment. M. F. Farley, the Democratic candidate, was not present, but a copy of the resolution carried unanimously in favor of the amendment was sent to his residence by messenger.

In the 12th Congressional district there was a meeting typical of the kind which will be held when women have the vote. It was arranged by Mrs. R. Spivacke, leader of the 2nd A. D. and was held at her home 243 East Broadway. Two hundred invitations were issued for the meeting and in consequence both parlors were filled as well as the hall. L. M. Block, Republican candidate, and L. Saunders, Democratic candidate, were both present as well as several local politicians. Mrs. Spivacke introduced the candidates who both expressed themselves as believers in suffrage and heartily in favor of shortening our work by means of a Federal amendment. A letter from Meyer London, Socialist candidate, was read, and left no doubt of Mr. London's attitude. The charm of the meeting was that the speakers devoted themselves entirely to the woman question, partisan politics had no place in their speeches. After the Woman's Protest had been read, the men speakers took up several points and enlarged upon them, so that the women present felt that they were a part of the political scheme and were not being treated to vague generalities. One speaker commented upon the meeting as the kind suffrage would bring, when men and women would meet in a political social gathering in a *home*. Mrs. Helen M. Leavitt spoke briefly on suffrage and

(*Continued on page* 20)

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party
Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City
Headquarters—48 East 34th Street
Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street
Honorary Chairman—
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Vice-Chairmen—
Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren,
68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn
Mrs. F. Robertson Jones,
71 East 87th Street.
Secretary—
Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street
Corresponding Secretary—
Miss Adaline W. Sterling,
195 Claremont Avenue
Treasurer—
Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich,
317 West 74th Street
MANHATTAN BOROUGH—
Chairman—Miss Annie Doughty,
435 West 119th Street
BROOKLYN BOROUGH—
Headquarters—342 Livingston Street.
Chairman—Mrs. H. Edward Dreier,
35 Remsen Street
BRONX BOROUGH—
Headquarters—Third Ave., Corner 149th St.
Chairman—Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer,
631 East 168th Street
QUEENS BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. David R. Rodger,
Richmond Hill, L. I.
RICHMOND BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. William G. Willcox,
115 Davis Avenue, West New Brighton

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized to win the vote for women. It follows the regular plan of the political parties, having a leader in each Assembly District and a captain in each Election District. Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman who believes in equal suffrage.

If you believe in the principle of democracy, come into our ranks; every one is welcome. Send your name and address to 48 East 34th Street. Remember that every name counts. The success of woman suffrage depends upon the strength of our organization and the loyalty of our workers. We are organized to win. Join the Party to-day.

Mrs. Spivacke served a buffet supper which would have been the final argument were any such needed.

In the 19th Congressional district, a street meeting was held at 110th Street and Broadway under the chairmanship of Mrs. Robert Oliver, leader. An audience of fully three hundred gathered around the gayly decorated automobile and listened attentively to the speeches. Mrs. J. Wells Wentworth was the Party speaker for the Federal Amendment, and made a forceful address: she read the Protest and the Resolution, her voice reaching to every one in the big crowd. Other suffrage speakers were Miss Noonan and Miss Newman. Michael Schapp, Democratic candidate, declared himself in favor of suffrage, and pledged himself if elected to work and vote for the Federal Amendment. The record of Walter M. Chandler, Republican candidate in favor of both suffrage and the amendment was read. The resolution was moved by a man in the audience, seconded by a dozen voices and carried unanimously.

A very large meeting of the 17th Congressional district was held in the High School of Commerce, 66th Street west of Broadway, Miss Emily Hooper, leader of the 15th A. D., presiding. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Miss Mary Garrett Hay were the women suffrage speakers and did their subject full justice. Lindell Bates, Republican candidate stated his suffrage views were of long standing, that he had announced the same before the primary that the voters might know they were voting for a suffragist and one who believed in the Federal amendment and would work for such. J. F. Carew, Democratic candidate declared that he was not "unalterably opposed to suffrage" and never had been. Though he did not announce his conversion, he made the declaration that he did not wish to be classed with the senior senator from Massachusetts and the former senior senator from New York. "While yet the light * * * "

Brooklyn held eight meetings, the largest in the Presbyterian Church at Enfield and Etna avenues. The other meetings were street meetings. Mrs. Hutchins, Miss Ida Craft, Miss Potter and Mrs. Langenbecker were among the speakers. Congressional candidates did not attend being engaged in their own canvass.

Meetings were held in the three Congressional districts in the Bronx, an afternoon meeting at the Bronx Boat House, and evening street meetings at the Bronx Settlement, Washington Avenue and 172d Street, and at 138th Street and Willis Avenue. Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Martin, Mr. Pendler, and Mrs. Hoagland were the speakers. Candidates were absent but their records were read.

Two afternoon street meetings were held in Queens, at Long Island City and at Jamaica. In the evening, Mrs. David R. Rodger, Mrs. Schwerin and Miss Adaline Sterling spoke at the Jefferson Democratic Club, Ridgewood.

ONE of the brilliant features at the Electrical Exposition at the Grand Central Palance last month was the Suffrage Booth under the charge of Mrs. John Blair, Publicity Chairman of the State Party, assisted by Miss Helen Hill, leader of the 27th Assembly District. The booth was furnished by the courtesy of the Edison Company, and the "trimmings were of the latest suffrage fashion." "Preparedness in the Home" was shown by all sorts of labor-saving devices which will give the coming woman voters, even of the anti type, adequate warrant for occasionally going out of doors. Leaders and workers from the various Manhattan assembly districts assisted in serving at the booth and secured hundreds of enrollments from women and men for the suffrage cause. On the 21st, the anniversary of the discovery of the incandescent lamp, the inventor, Thomas A. Edison and Mrs. Edison were guests of honor and were received by the State Chairman, Mrs. Whitehouse, the State Vice-Chairmen, Mrs. Laidlaw and Mrs. Brown, the City Chairman, Miss Hay, Mrs. John Blair and Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH has opened campaign headquarters at 422 Grand Street and will hold daily meetings for a month. The formal opening took place on Saturday evening, October 28th, and the decorated shop attracted a large crowd who listened to addresses by noted suffrage speakers. The work will be carried on with the co-operation of the leaders and workers of the assembly districts of this section of the city, the 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th, 8th and 10th.

A RECEPTION will be given at Headquarters, 48 E. 34th Street, on Friday, November 10th, from eight to eleven P. M. in honor of the Election District Captains of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse and Miss Mary Garret Hay will be guests of honor. Short addresses will be made at nine o'clock.

ON Election Day workers will be stationed one hundred feet from the polls to distribute literature to the voters *after* they have voted, as a reminder in a way of what is expected of them in November 1917.

CITY COMMITTEE MEETING

Monday, November 6th at 10 A. M.

Every District Must Be Represented

New York State Woman Suffrage Party

48th Annual Convention

Albany, N. Y., November 21-23, 1916

Program

CONVENTION Headquarters will be at the Hotel Ten Eyck. Business Meetings will be held at Eastern Star Hall.

Special Convention Committees:

Program—Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Chairman.

Credentials—Miss Annie Doughty, Chairman.

Registration—Mrs. Edward M. Childs, Chairman.

Election—Mrs. David R. Rodger, Chairman.

Local arrangements will be in charge of the following sub-committees with Mrs. F. W. Cameron, 2nd, as General Chairman and Miss Henrietta Gibson as General Secretary:

INFORMATION—Miss Lillian B. Towner, Chairman; Mrs. Edmund N. Huyck, Vice-Chairman.

PAGES—Mrs. Jonathan Stott, Chairman; Miss Julia Herrick, Vice-Chairman.

BANQUET—Miss Mary Hun, Chairman; Mrs. Frederick Townsend, Vice-Chairman.

DECORATIONS—Miss Helen Stott, Chairman; Mrs. Henry A. Van Alstyne, Vice-Chairman.

PUBLICITY—Mrs. Joseph Gavit, Chairman; Mrs. Otto R. Eichel, Vice-Chairman.

SEATING AND USHERS—Mrs. Charles Russell, Chairman; Miss Ida Lindsay, Vice-Chairman.

CAFETERIA—Mrs. S. S. Rider, Chairman; Mrs. Raymond Booth, Vice-Chairman.

HOUSE—Mrs. J. Augustus Goewey, Chairman; Mrs. Alexander McEwan, Vice-Chairman.

HOTELS—Mrs. J. Archibald Clark, Chairman; Mrs. Mosher Niles, Vice-Chairman.

CLOAK ROOM—Mrs. Lena Scott, Chairman; Miss Mary Doty, Vice-Chairman.

Meetings of the Credential Committee will be held at the Hotel Ten Eyck on Monday, November 20th from 11.30 A. M. to 2 P. M., and from 4 to 6 P. M. On Tuesday the Committee will be in session at the Eastern Star Hall from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., and from 3 to 6 P. M. On Wednesday the last meeting will be held at Eastern Star Hall from 9 to 10 A. M.

Delegates and alternates will register at Eastern Star Hall on Tuesday, November 21st.

The regular sessions of the Convention open on Tuesday, November 21st, at 2 P. M., with the following program:

Convention called to order by the State Chairman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse.

INVOCATION—Rev. L. M. Lounsberry, D.D., of Trinity M. E. Church.

WELCOME—Hon. Joseph W. Stevens, Mayor of Albany.

Reports of Committees:

CREDENTIAL.....Miss Annie Doughty
PROGRAM.....Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore
LEGISLATION.....Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw
ORGANIZATION.....Mrs. Raymond Brown
TREASURER.....Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid
ADDRESS.....Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse
RECORD OF STATE COMMITTEE,
Miss Alice Morgan Wright

At eight o'clock the social event of the Convention—the Banquet—will be held at the Hotel Ten Eyck. Mrs. Whitehouse will preside at the after dinner speaking and five minute speeches will be made by Miss Harriet May Mills, Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Mrs. Frederick Edey, Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Mrs. Topliff, Mrs. F. J. Tone, Mrs. Charles S. Whitman, and Mrs. Alice Duer Miller. Judge Samuel Seabury will make the address of the evening.

The session of Wednesday, the 22nd, will open at 10 A. M. sharp. The principal features of the program will be:

INVOCATION—Rabbi Samuel H. Goldenson, of Temple Beth-Emeth.

Report of New York City Chairman, Miss Mary Garret Hay.

Reports of Chairmen of Campaign Districts.

Decoration of suffragists who obtained the largest number of enrollments during Harvest Week.

Notice of proposed amendments to the Constitution Primary for Nomination of officers.

At 8 P. M. Governor and Mrs. Charles S. Whitman will give a reception at the Executive Mansion to delegates, alternates, official representatives and invited guests of the Convention.

The last day of the Convention, Thursday, the 23rd, will open at 10 A. M

MORNING SESSION

INVOCATION—Rev. William R. Charles, Church of St. Vincent de Paul.

Organization: System, City Canvassing, Voting, Membership—Dr. Mary H. Smith, Mrs. C. A. Dunlevy.

Rural Problems:

Auto-Hikes to Rural Voters—Mrs. William G. Willcox.

Advertising a Rural Meeting—Mrs. Helen M. Leavitt.

Conservative Church Women—Mrs. F. Merson.

Granges and Farmers' Picnics—Mrs. Louis Partridge

Finances—Mrs. Marion Wynne, Mrs. F. J. Tone, Mrs. Helen Abbott, Mrs. Willard Winslow.

Collection Speech—Mrs. Raymond Brown.

Helps:

Literature—Mrs. A. J. Livermore.

Suffrage Schools—Mrs. H. W. Wilson.

Demonstrations:

Publicity—Mrs. John Blair.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Action on Amendments to the Constitution.

Election of Officers.

Reports from Sections:

Collegiate—Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany.

Educational—Mrs. Howard Mansfield.

Men's League—James Lees Laidlaw.

Industrial—Miss Mary E. Dreier.

Publicity—Mrs. John Blair.

Teachers'—Miss Katherine Devereux Blake.

EVENING SESSION

Open Meeting—Miss Leila Stott, Chairman; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Raymond Brown and Miss Mary Garret Hay, speakers.

With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

Gentlemen, woman suffrage is undemocratic. This country for a century had shown the world the model for universal government—liberty under law. "Votes for Women" was first heard in the French Commune, and the strain of the Marseillaise, now played for the march of Suffrage, is most ominous. This country has now reached its greatest crisis because certain women are leading in a blind attack on their own sex integrity, at the bidding of a delusion as old as pre-historic days—that of tribal ownership and tribal stagnation.

—*Helen K. Johnson.*

"This law—the law of sex—the feeling that is born in every man's breast to protect womankind is God-made and all women should try to preserve it instead of struggling for the so-called equality of sex. You step into the elevator, a man removes his hat; you spill your packages, a man rushes to the rescue, picks them up, and touches his hat and smiles because he was privileged to serve a woman; you step into a crowded court room and men scuffle about to get you a comfortable chair, hand you a fan, carry you a glass of ice water and the attorney for the 'other side' closes the window because you, a woman, are in a draft.

"I could write three volumes on the joy of just being a woman with 'no rights,' but what's the use? Because of the confounded gallantry of the men we shall have 'our rights' and then this best of all possible worlds will jog along with its murders, poverty, ignorance, suicides, prisons, sweatshops, etc., etc. Because 'God is in His Heaven,' etc., I'm not going to worry whether we get our 'rights' or not."

—*Cora M. Daw,*
The Woman's Protest.

"Give women the best laws, but I don't think it would be a better thing to give her the ballot. It would be right if only educated women voted, but the riffraff would outnumber them, and there's too much riffraff voting now."

—*Jeanette Gilder.*

Legislative Pearls.

"Despite the efforts of the suffragists I will not be deterred from fighting this monstrous thing or from doing all I can to uphold and defend the beautiful traditions and conventions of the South, and to resent any imputation that they 'ought to be routed,' or that her women are groveling in ignorance and must follow the lead of Utah and other Western States where all the freaks come from to be 'educated.'"

—*Hon. J. H. Green (Alabama)*

"God Bless Me and My Wife."

"I believe, Mr. President, that it is up to the men of Maryland to protect their women against this movement. Mr. President, there is but one woman in this whole wide world for me, and she has given me the sunlight of her countenance for many years, and she tells me that she will preserve the integrity of our home at our home, and I will protect it abroad, both in the forum and in the field."

—*Senator Chesley (Maryland)*

"The reason women are better, the reason they are cleaner, higher souled, is because they have not had to go out and battle with their fellow-men as we have. From the time they rise in the morning they are largely occupied with the duties in their homes, don't come in contact with the world, with all its fraud and all of its evil. When they do come out and see it they are only human beings as are men; they possess the same instincts, the same feelings and the same shortcomings, and the ultimate result will be that women will be on the same plane as the men—the ultimate result will be the same as in 1916 at this very session of the Legislature."

—*Representative Tydings (Maryland)*

"I must speak of the most happy companionship with the woman who bears my name, and that makes me hesitate to place myself on record as being opposed to this movement. After 27 years of companionship, Mr. Speaker, with its hardships and its trials and its joys, and I must say there were more hardships than joys—during that whole time we raised a family of 12 living children—I do not hesitate to say that the burden of caring for those children was principally upon her shoulders. And yet, Mr. Speaker, when I approached her upon this question, which I felt I was in duty bound to do,

she told me she had trusted me with her future life and her destiny 27 years ago; that she felt that I was capable of continuing the same trust and care that I had exhibited in the last 27 years, and that she believed that she, in the care of that family, had enough to do at home."

—*Representative Fisher (Maryland)*

I have a wife that is the mother of two children. She don't want to vote—she don't want to vote, and why don't she want to vote? Because she realizes, as many of the women in this State realize that under the Constitution that there is something else goes with the right to vote beside the mere power to cast the ballot in a ballot box on election day.

Citizenship means more than that, my friends, and the women that are responsible for all that is good in human kind have something to do, and that something don't put them in American politics.

—*Representative Bryant (Maryland)*

"American freedom is the child of American democracy. It involves equal rights and equal duties. It involves on the one hand, the supremacy of law, on the other, it means freedom from needless governmental restraint. The distinctive American idea which we ought to cherish sacredly, and from which we should never depart, is that the greatest good of the greatest number can be best achieved by giving to each individual the right to work out his own salvation; obedient to law, but not pinioned by needless restrictions."

Our opponent, Everett P. Wheeler, writes the above definition of Americanism in an article on "Personal Liberty." But he applies it, of course, only to men. Women, he argues, need wise restraints lest their attention be diverted from duties prescribed by nature and Mr. Wheeler. Moreover, if women were permitted to share in American democracy "it would bring selfish and artful women into prominence and entice them by holding out political prizes."

Classic Pearls.

Madame Roland the center of a political revolution in which she played no part although she was one of the intellectual leaders of her time, said:

'I was present at these meetings, but I knew right well what was becoming to my sex, and never departed from it. I sat outside the circle either occupied with needlework or writing whilst they consulted."

An Address to the Fair Sex in 1790.

"The woman's throne is in the midst of her family. Her honor is the honor of the children she has reared. Cornelia was neither Senator nor general nor consul. She was the mother of the Gracchi."

Startling Revelation.

How Legislation Is Conducted in Norway, Australia, California, Illinois and Many Other States.

"Reader, have you ever seen a man driving a pair of spirited horses with his little daughter sitting beside him? She says, 'Papa, let me dwive the pwetty horses.' And he puts the reins into her chubby hands. But he at once passes his arm around her and holds his hands very close to the reins. When they come to a dangerous piece of the road or are about to meet a team his fingers close upon the reins and the child is no longer the driver. So in any state or country that adopts woman suffrage, so long as no more serious question is involved than a choice between John Doe and Richard Doe (both estimable citizens) for an office, the votes of women may be cast and counted. But when any serious crisis occurs they will be simply brushed aside and the question decided by the only power that can maintain the decision—a majority of men."—The Blank Cartridge Ballot, by Rossiter Johnson.

Love Sonnets of an Anti-Suffragist.

To His Love Suggesting a Congenial Topic.

Come, Mabel, let us spend a pleasant hour
  Telling what silly creatures women are.
Will not that be delectable, my Flower,
  My Angel-Princess, Queen and Guiding Star?
Come, let us two Olympians be gay,
  Jesting about your sex's lack of truth,
Their cowardice, their vanity, the way
  They cling, though aged, to the garb of youth;
Their mental powers, charming, but absurd;
  Their inability to do or plan;
And then, my darling, you may say your word
  In praise of that supreme creation, Man.
What's that you say? That not all men are great?
  Your thought, my Mabel, savors of sex-hate.

Movie of Unemotional Sex Legislating for Others.

"It was such a scene as few members of the House of Delegates had ever witnessed. Stunned into silence, the advocates of the bill sat still in their seats, or stood without movement while its opponents leaped to their feet or moved excitedly about, clapping their hands, stamping their feet and letting loose cheer after cheer ascending and descending the scale, while here and there arose old-fashioned rebel yells, all signals of triumph and delight."

Doubtless the account of the passage of some great patriotic legislation?

No, merely the description in a Virginia paper of the failure of a bill allowing women equal educational opportunities at the University of Virginia.

Women already have equal privileges in paying taxes for the support of the university.

—*Alice Duer Miller in The New York Tribune.*

Getting the Returns

TIMES SQUARE on Election night. A wind blowing where it listeth and always on the back of your neck; trolley cars edging their way through dense crowds; policemen routing the ignorant and knowing alike from forbidden vantage points; trailing processions north and south on Broadway; heated arguments as to the right to walk downtown on the uptown side in spite of regulation; the din of cow bells, tin horns and rattles; the perverted sense of humor of callow youth; the standing on the cold, cold curb in the frantic endeavor to remember the significance of the tower lights in connection with the points of the compass; strained necks and tired eyes to say nothing of temper frayed at the edges.

This you may have on ELECTION NIGHT.

* * *

THE Broadway Restaurant on Election Night. Living at its highest cost; "music while you eat" for which the perpetrators should suffer condign punishment; national airs and noise; returns and ragtime; cabaret and cheers.

This you can have on **ELECTION NIGHT.**

* * *

THE theatre on Election Night. Possibly a dull show at a correspondingly high outlay, with incomplete returns sandwiched in between the acts, the play concluding just in time to discharge its audience into the outside throng at its liveliest.

This you can have on **ELECTION NIGHT.**

* * *

THE Suffrage Ball on Election Night. Just a short distance away from the din of Times Square, just around the corner of the Grand Central Station, the doors of the Grand Central Palace open in hearty welcome to those who want the election returns in understandable fashion and under charmingly comfortable surroundings. No blaring horns, no sportive youth with devices disturbing to one's sense of dignity; no policeman to accelerate your steps; and no acquaintance with the points of the compass a condition of understanding results.

Instead here will be warmth, light and color. Decorations artistic as well as symbolic; the 71st Regiment band playing music which lures all alike to the ideal dancing floor. As for election returns they will be displayed on an electric map and repeated by telautograph. There will be no better showing of returns in the whole city, and indeed none half as good. For the returns will not be recorded on an ordinary electric map. This is a suffrage affair and the map will be of course a suffrage map. Lights will be flashed in blue and white for the two major parties, and the two states, West Virginia and South Dakota which have a referendum this year, will be fitted up with yellow suffrage bulbs in order to follow the course of victory there, as well as victory for one of the National tickets. There will be special device to show how the two women candidates for Congress, Miss Jeanette Rankin in Montana, and Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, in Washington, are coming out.

This you can have on **ELECTION NIGHT.**

According to precedent and suffrage tradition this is a democratic ball, and you can have all these attractions at the modest price of fifty cents. You will not only get your money's worth if you dance, and much more than that in the reliable way in which the returns are presented. If you are already a suffragist you will be filled with pride at the splendid way in which the ball has been organized and carried out. If you are an anti your admiration will be compelled for the same reason, and you will repent of the error of your ways forthwith.

The ball promises to rival in size the Madison Square Garden affair of last March, so it will be advisable to make application for reserved seats or entrance tickets at once at the headquarters of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, 303 Fifth Ave., or at the headquarters of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, 48 East 34th St.

COME AND GET YOUR ELECTION RETURNS WHILE YOU DANCE!

As the Antis Campaign

THESE quotations are from Anti-Suffrage Notes issued by the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association. We omit the names which are printed in full in the notes.

"Mrs. ——, one of the leaders in the suffrage movement in Michigan is being sued for divorce by her husband on the ground that owing to her suffrage activities she has practically abandoned her home."

"In a divorce case in which prominent Massachusetts people figured, a witness testified that the wife had stated that she was encouraged to be unfaithful to her husband by reading the teachings of feminists. She said she believed the time would come when a woman would pick out the father of her child, and the state would subsidize the children."

"Another suffrage leader is in the divorce court Miss ——, as she prefers to be called, who is really Mrs. ——. She is a lawyer, a suffragist, a socialist, a feminist, a leader in the anti-preparedness movement, and a business women. Naturally marriage didn't fit in."

"Suffrage ueber Alles—the new slogan for the suffragists."

"*Life* says: 'It has been announced to Massachusetts that Mrs. —— has decided to leave that state and move to California, where she can vote.

Too bad! Not only will it be a great mortification and loss to Massachusetts, but a mistake on Mrs. ——'s part. The reaction on suffrage will hit California before it hits Massachusetts, and send her back home in sorrow and at vain expense.

Nevertheless, if Mrs. —— wants to catch woman suffrage somewhere while it lasts, there is something to be said for that.'

Mrs. —— had already taken up residence in California to get a divorce."

"Mrs. ——'s formula for proposing to a man is 'Let us mate.' She says: 'My husband and I would undoubtedly have been lost to each other if I had not done the proposing.' Mr. —— admits the truth of this. He says: 'I never even thought of proposing to —— because I did not intend to marry. In general I do not approve of marriage as an institution.' Evidently he, too, is a feminist."

"The governor of Nevada invited Mrs. —— to vote with the women of his state. Mrs. —— suggested yesterday that it would be a good idea to organize the women who have taken residence in Reno to make use of their privileges and go back there to vote. It is interesting to note that she assumes that of course the Reno divorcees are suffragists."

"Mrs. —— recently threw an audience into a high pitch of enthusiasm when she declared that the time for 'pussy-footing' had passed, and the time for real aggressive action had come. But if the suffragists are tired of pussy-footing why have they chosen Mrs. —— as their national president?"

"In London recently one of the Suffragettes came uninvited to a party given weekly to wounded and convalescent soldiers, and was heard urging them to record their vote for women in the near future, on the first opportunity. * * * This confirms the statement one hears on many sides, of the base advantage taken by many of these persons in their visits to hospitals, in order to air their sentiments, and to make bids for votes."

"On Feb. 14th the suffragists sent valentines to the President and to various Senators and Representatives who have dared to oppose the wishes of these ladies. We are constantly reminded of the statement of Dr. Charles Dana, the well known neurologist of New York, that many of the suffrage leaders have the mentality of 11-year-old children."

"The suffragists have a new doll which was christened at the new suffrage headquarters the other day, Mrs. ——, acting as god-mother. By the way, didn't a famous nerve specialist some time since say that many suffrage leaders had the mentality of 11-year-old children?"

From what I have seen of some of the suffragists I have no doubt that this prerequisite of military duty would not act as a deterrent. No doubt some of them would assume the habiliments of a soldier, clip their beautiful locks of hair and go through the ordeal of military life! But the majority of them would not do so. Such a requirement would exclude a vast number of women. And those who availed themselves of the opportunity! And became soldiers! What would it mean? It would be the abandonment of womanhood! Are the men—the best friends of women—their real protectors—prepared to open this door? To tempt the reckless, bold women to take such a step?

—*John R. Dos Passos.*

BOOKS FOR WOMEN

Will you help this new department of the Woman Voter? You can make our book advertising a successful enterprise if you will order your books through us. Send mail orders addressed Book Department, Woman Voter, 48 East 34th Street. If you buy directly of the publisher, please mention The Woman Voter.

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INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE

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Executive Secretary, Educational Section, N.Y.S.W.S.P.
303 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, Room 2003

Election Night Suffrage Ball

New York State Woman Suffrage Party

Election Night—November 7, 1916

at 8 o'clock

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE

Lexington Avenue and 46th Street

Election Returns by Direct Wire.

Continuous Music by the 71st Regiment Band.

Tickets: Fifty Cents.

On sale at Suffrage Headquarters, 303 Fifth Avenue
48 East 34th Street and at Gimbel's Store.

SUFFRAGE IN 1917

MASS MEETING

under the auspices of the
Woman Suffrage Party
of Bronx Borough

Friday Evening, December 1st, 1916

EBLING'S CASINO,
156th St. and St. Ann's Ave.

Hon. Douglas Mathewson, President of Bronx Borough will address the meeting, as well as the following prominent suffragists:

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, New York State Chairman
Miss Mary Garrett Hay, City Chairman
Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer, Bronx Borough Chairman

Admission 25 cents. Boxes $3.00
Reserved Section 50 cents.

A most interesting course of lectures on Municipal Housekeeping will be given at the rooms of the Educational Section, New York State Woman Suffrage Party, 303 Fifth Avenue, on Mondays and Fridays, November 13th to December 15th. Many of the City Commissioners will speak on their special topics. President Marks will make the opening address on November 13th. A season Membership ticket ($3.00) will admit anyone to this course and to all other regular courses or lectures of the Educational Section. Single admission 50 cents.

The Educational Section has also arranged six Informal Talks on Current Events in Relation to Woman Suffrage by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, on Wednesdays during November and December. Membership ticket to the Educational Section or single admission of 25 cents admits anyone to these talks.

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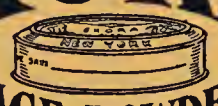

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